

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

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USMISSION NATO

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AMCONSUL THESSALONIKI UNN

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

CINCUSAFE

CINCUSNAVEUR

CINCUSAREUR

USDOCOSOUTH

DIA WASHDC

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 ATHENS 001

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PGOV PINT GR

SUBJECT: GREECE - AN OVERALL LOOK AT THE POLITICAL LANDSCAPE

AS WE ENTER 1976

"WE ARE NOT OF THE RIGHT, OF THE CENTER OR OF THE LEFT--IN

EVERY INSTANCE WE DO WHAT IS CORRECT FOR THE COUNTRY."

CONSTANTINE CARAMANLIS- DECEMBER 1975.

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"GREECE TODAY HAS THE MOST COMPLETE DEMOCRACY IN ITS HISTORY."

MIKIS THEODORAKIS- DECEMBER 1975

1. CONRAD ADENAUER MEET BOBBY DYLAN.

2. CONSTANTINE CARAMANLIS, THE AUSTERE LEADER OF THE CONSERVATIVE MAJORITY, AND MIKIS THEODORAKIS, THE BALLADEER OF THE GREEK LEFT CAN FIND MUCH TO CELEBRATE AS GREECE LOOKS BACK ON 1975. APART FROM THE RECENT TRAGEDY OF RICHARD WELCH'S ASSASSINATION, AMERICANS CAN TOO. FOR DURING THE PAST YEAR IN THE CONTEXT OF A REBORN LIBERAL DEMOCRACY, THE GOVT OF GREECE AND THE GOVT OF THE UNITED STATES HAVE BEEN ABLE TO MOVE SLOWLY TOWARDS THE RESTORATION AND GRADUAL RESHAPING OF A RELATIONSHIP BADLY BATTERED BY THE DISASTROUS DENOUEMENT OF SEVEN YEARS OF AUTHORITARIAN RULE AND THE CYPRUS TRAGEDY.

3. NEARLY EVERY GREEK WILL SING A HYMN OF PRAISE TO DEMOCRACY. PERHAPS UNIQUELY IN THE WEST, THIS COUNTRY'S DEMOCRACY IS NOT DOUBTED BY ITS SERIOUS CITIZENS. SEVEN YEARS OF MILITARY DICTATORSHIP-- AND SPECTACULAR TRIALS OF THOSE CHARGED WITH CRIMES UNDER THE DICTATORSHIP--HAVE CONVINCED THEM THAT DEMOCRACY IS NOT MERELY, IN THE WORDS OF CHURCHILL, "THE WORST FORM OF GOVERNMENT EXCEPT FOR ALL OTHERS." RATHER THERE IS A GENEALIZED CONSENSUS THAT DEMOCRACY IS TODAY THE ONLY POSSIBLE FORM OF GOVERNMENT. THE GREEK MILITARY-- THE ARBITER OF GREEK POLITICS IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS-- ACCEPTS THIS FORMULATION AND AT PRESENT POSES NO REAL THREAT TO CARAMANLIS.

4. AS AMERICANS, AS CARAMANLIS AND AS THEODORAKIS LOOK AT THE DEMOCRATIC LANDSCAPE HERE, WE COULD PROBABLY AGREE ON THREE OF ITS MOST IMPORTANT FEATURES:

--CARAMANLIS, THE ARCHITECT OF DEMOCRACY;  
--THE PERCEIVED TURKISH THREAT, WHICH UNITES GREEKS;  
--THE US, TO WHICH GREEKS ARE READY TO ATTRIBUTE RESPONSIBILITY FOR ALL THAT BEFALLS THEIR NATION.  
NONE OF THE FOREGOING IS SUFFICIENT TO EXPLAIN EVENTS  
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HERE BUT EACH IS NECESSARY FOR AN UNDERSTANDING.

5. CARAMANLIS COMES THE CLOSEST TO BEING A SUFFICIENT CONDITION. IN GREECE TODAY, HIS PERSON AND THE NATIONS DEMOCRACY ARE INDISTINGUISHABLE. EVEN GREEKS WHO DISAGREE WITH HIS POLITICS FEEL THAT AT THE MOMENT THERE IS NO ONE ELSE TO LEAD GREECE. AND HIS DEFT POLITICAL MOVES OVER THE PAST YEAR HAVE PRESERVED THEIR BELIEF. TO THE TASK OF

PRESERVATION HE BRINGS A PERSONALITY GREEKS FIND STRONG AND TRUSTWORTHY, A SURE SENSE OF TIMEING, AND A TENACIOUS PURPOSE. OVER THE YEAR, HE HAS PRESIDED OVER THE COUNTRY'S ECONOMIC RECOVERY, DENIED THE OPPOSITION ANY OPENING ON THE DOMESTIC FRONT AND NEUTRALIZED THEM ON FOREIGN POLICY.

6. THUS, CARAMANLIS IS UNIQUE. BY PERSONAL INCLINATION A CONSERVATIVE, BY POLITICAL CONSTUENCY A RIGHTEST, HE HAS MANAGED TO AGGLUTINATE GREEKS FROM RIGHT TO LEFT. IN THIS SENSE HE IS FUNCTIONALLY THE CENTER, IN A COUNTRY WHERE THE CENTER, AND WITH IT DEMOCRACY, HAS PROVEN EVANESCENT.

7. ANY SCHEME SO DEPENDENT ON ONE MAN IS ACTUARIAL TABLES, IF BY NO OTHER MEASURE, INHERENTLY UNSTABLE. CARAMANLIS IS APPARENTLY IN EXCELLENT HEALTH. HE HAS POSITIONED HIMSELF TO ASUME THE PRESIDENCY, WHEN AND IF HE WISHES, THUS ASSURING HIMSELF AT LEAST FIVE MORE YEARS AT THE HELM OF THE NATION. BUT HE HAS NOT BEGUN TO BUILD THE STRUCTURES THAT WILL ENDURE WHEN HIS PERSONAL MAGIC WEARS OFF OR WHEN HE IS REMOVED FROM THE SCENE.

8. GREECE'S DEMOCRACY HAS YET TO BE INSTITUTIONALIZED. WHEN THE MILITARY TOOK POWER IN 1967 THEY STOPPED THE COUNTRYS BUREAUCRATIC AND POLITICAL CLOCKS, WHILE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND SOCIAL CHANGE CONTINUED--OR EVEN ACCELERATED. DEMOCRACYS RESTORATION DID NOT MOVE POLITICAL AND BUREAUCRATIC CLOCKS FORWARD. OUTDATED IN 1967, THEY ARE EVEN MORE OUT OF PHASE TODAY WITH THE COUNTRY IN WHICH THEY OPERATE. IF CARAMANLIS GREAT SUCCESS WAS REESTABLISHING DEMOCRACY, HISTORY MAY SAY HIS GREAT FAILURE HAS BEEN HIS UNWILLINGNESS OR INABILITY SO FAR

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TO INSTITUTIONALIZE IT. THE EVIDENCE OF THIS LACK OF CONGRUENCE BETWEEN INSTIUTIONAL AND REALITY IS EVERYWHERE. --CARAMANLIS OPERATES HIS GOVERNMENT IN THE TRADITIONAL GREEK MANNER--DECISION-MAKING POWER IS CONCENTRATED IN HIS HANDS AND SHARED WITH ONLY A HANDFUL OF MINISTERS. MODERN DEMOCRATIC SOCIETIES CANNOT BE RUN THIS WAY. --THE GREEK PARTY STRUCTURE IS NON-EXISTENT. CARAMANLIS HAS DONE NOTHING TO GET HIS PARTY ORGANIZED. THE CENTER UNION/ NEW FORCES SEEMS PERPETUALLY TO DITHER. ANDREAS PAPANDREOU'S PASOK IS A VEHICLE FOR HIS PERSONALITY. THE ONLY MODERN POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS IN THE COUNTRY ARE THOSE OF THE COMMUNISTS. --THE GREEK PARLIAMENT IS A FORUM FOR WARD HEELING RATHER THAN NATIONAL POLITICS. DEPUTIES-- AND EVEN MINISTERS--MORE RESENBLE OMBUDSMEN DOING PETTY

FAVORS FOR CONSTITUENTS THAN SHAPERS OF NATIONAL FORTUNES.  
--NO POLITICAL GROUP HAS YET IDENTIFIED, MUCH LESS BEGUN TO ORGANIZE, THE LARGE CENTRIST CONSTITUENCY WHICH SHOULD EXIST AT GREECE'S LEVEL OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC MODERNIZATION.  
--GREEK EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS ARE LOCKED IN MEDIEVAL STRUCTURES, PRODUCING A SURPLUS OF SKILLS THE COUNTRY DOES NOT NEED--ATHENS ALREADY HAS MORE LAWYERS THAN ALL OF FRANCE--AND A DEFICIT OF THE TECHNICIANS AND CAPABLE ADMINISTRATORS FOR WHICH THERE IS A DESPERATE DEMAND.

9. EACH OF THESE PROBLEMS CAN BE REMEDIED. THE PROBLEM IS THAT EITHER NOTHING IS BEING DONE OR THAT STEPS BEING TAKEN ARE TOO SMALL. THIS IS NOT SURPRISING. THESE FLAWS WERE RECOGNIZED FIFTEEN AND EVEN FIFTY YEARS AGO. GREEKS YAMMERED ABOUT DOING SOMETHING ABOUT THEM AS THEIR DEMOCRACY WAS FELLED BY ITS FATAL FLAWS. YET THERE IS NO REASON TO CRY DOOM--FOR A SYSTEM SO APPARENTLY UNSYSTEMATIC CAN PREVAIL EVEN WHEN IT FAILS TO PRODUCE. ITS POROUSNESS ENABLES IT NOT ONLY TO REDEEM ITSELF BUT ALSO TO SURVIVE EVEN THE ECLIPSE OF CARAMANLIS--PROBABLY THROUGH A SERIES OF ROTATING CABINETS.

10. THE TIME OF CARAMANLIS' ECLIPSE CANNOT BE DETERMINED BY OUR ASTRONOMICAL CHARTS. BUT SOME CLOUDS HAVE BEGUN TO SHADOW HIS STAR. HIS CONSENSUS IS BEGINNING TO FRAZZLE AT THE EDGES.  
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--THE GREEK RIGHT, QUIESCENT FOR NEARLY A YEAR, IS BEGINNING TO STIR. THIS COLLECTION OF ROYALISTS AND FORMER JUNTA SUPPORTERS HAVE IN COMMON A GROSSLY EXAGGERATED PERCEPTION OF THE COMMUNIST THREAT AND A BELIEF THAT CARAMANLIS IS DOING TOO LITTLE TO MEET IT.

--ANDREASPAPANDREOU HAS FOR SOME MONTHS BEEN TESTING THE WATER, EXPERIMENTING TO SEE IF THE TIME HAS COME TO BREAK THE DOMESTIC PEACE BY TAKING CARAMANLIS ON DIRECTLY. THUS FAR HE HAS NOT DARED TO, AND NEITHER HAS THE REST OF THE OPPOSITION. BUT ANDREAS HAS GIVEN EVERY INDICATION THAT HE WISHES TO POLARIZE THIS COUNTRY, AND HAS BEGUN HIS OWN FORM OF THE "UNENDING STRUGGLE" TO BRING THIS ABOUT.

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USCINCEUR

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CINCUSNAVEUR

CINCUSAREUR

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 ATHENS 001

11. THESE ARE LONG TERM THREATS, HOWEVER. IF CARAMANLIS STUMBLES  
IN THE NEARER TERM IT WILL PROBABLY BE OVER AN ISSUE OF FOREIGN  
POLICY. FOREIGN AFFAIRS REMAIN THE MOST SENSITIVE  
POLITICAL ISSUE IN THIS COUNTRY. THE PRIME MINISTER MUST  
CONTINUE TO HANDLE HIS RELATIONS WITH THE TWO COUNTRIES  
MOST PROMINENT ON THE GREEK POLITICAL LANDSCAPE--THE UNITED  
STATES AND TURKEY--WITH THE SAME DEFTNESS THAT HAS MARKED  
HIS PERFORMANCE IN THE PAST OR HE WILL SEE HIS CONSENSUS  
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RAPIDLY AND PERHAPS FATALLY ERODED.

12. CARAMANLIS' FOREIGN POLICY GOALS A YEAR AGO WERE

THREEFOLD.

--TO ENGAGE GREECE IN WESTERN EUROPE AND THROUGH WESTERN EUROPE WITH THE UNITED STATES, THE EC AND NATO, THEREBY ANCHORING GREECE'S ECONOMY, SECURITY AND DEMOCRACY TO THE WEST;  
--TO AVOID WAR WITH TURKEY, TO DO SO IN A MANNER WHICH PROTECTS GREECE'S LEGITIMATE INTERESTS IN THE AEGEAN AND ON CYPRUS, AND TO PREPARE GREEK PUBLIC OPINION SO THAT THE EVENTUAL SETTLEMENT OF THE CYPRUS PROBLEM DOES THE LEAST POSSIBLE DAMAGE TO HIS POLITICAL BASE AT HOME;  
--TO CHANGE THE TONE BUT NOT THE SUBSTANCE OF GREECE'S POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SECURITY RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES. IN EACH AREA THE YEAR HAS SEEN CONSIDERABLE SUCCESS.

13. GREECE'S APPLICATION FOR ENTRY INTO THE EC APPEARS TO BE ON THE ROAD TO ACCEPTANCE EARLY NEXT YEAR. THE JUST CONCLUDED VISIT OF GERMAN CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT IS BUT ONE OF A SERIES OF EXCHANGES BETWEEN CARAMANLIS AND HIS OPPOSITE NUMBERS IN WESTERN EUROPE--WHICH AMONG OTHER THINGS EDUCATED THE PRIME MINISTER ON THE LIMITS OF EUROPEAN POWER. THE POLITICAL TIE BETWEEN NATO AND GREECE HAS BEEN MAINTAINED. GREECE'S MILITARY TIES TO NATO REMAIN IN PARTIAL SUSPENSE, BUT A START HAS BEEN MADE IN NEGOTIATIONS TO WORK OUT A NEW MILITARY RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN GREECE AND THE ALLIANCE, A NEGOTIATION WHOSE OUTCOME DEPENDS HEAVILY ON THE FACT AND FORM OF A RESOLUTION OF THE CYPRUS ISSUE.

14. CARAMANLIS APPEARS COMMITTED TO THE PROPOSITION THAT GREECE AND TURKEY ARE CONDEMNED TO LIVE TOGETHER. HE OBVIOUSLY CANNOT ACCEPT SETTLEMENT ON CYPRUS THAT

DENIES GREECE EVEN A SHRED OF DIGNITY. BUT, AS IN 1960, HE IS AGAIN PREPARED TO ENDORSE A SETTLEMENT ON CYPRUS WHICH IS BOUND TO BE CRITICIZED IN GREECE. HE HAS ACKNOWLEDGED THE PRESENT REALITIES ON THE ISLAND AND HIS ENGAGEMENT IN THE ISSUE HAS BEEN TO MAKE SURE THAT HE AND MAKARIOS WERE ON THE SAME WAVELENGTH SO THAT--HOPEFULLY--

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THE ARCHBISHOP WILL BE OUT FRONT TO BUFFER THE BACKLASH WHEN AND IF A SETTLEMENT EMERGES.

15. THE AEGEAN REMAINS AN OPEN AND POTENTIALLY DANGEROUS ISSUE BETWEEN GREECE AND TURKEY. HERE CARAMANLIS HAS FAR LESS ROOM FOR MANEUVER AT HOME THAN ON CYPRUS. HE KNOWS THAT THERE IS NO ISSUE--NOT EVEN RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES--WHICH MAKES HIM MORE VULNERABLE TO THE OPPOSITION HERE THAN THE AEGEAN. LIKE CYPRUS, TO NEGOTIATE THESE SHOALS HE IS GOING TO HAVE TO FIND FLEXIBILITY IN

ANKARA.

16. IT IS SIGNIFICANT THAT CARAMANLIS HAS NOT REACHED OUT TO THE SOVIET UNION AS HE SEEKS TO EASE HIS FOREIGN POLICY DIFFICULTIES WITH TURKEY AND THAT HE HAS NOT THUS FAR SOUGHT TO INCREASE LEVERAGE ON THE U.S. BY MAKING CONSPICUOUS GESTURES OF FRIENDSHIP TO MOSCOW. IN PART HE IS CONSTRAINED FROM SUCH MOVEMENT BY THE STRONG ANTI-COMMUNISM OF MANY OF HIS SUPPORTERS--AND OF THE GREEK MILITARY. BUT HIS ESCHEWAL OF THE SOVIET OPTION REFLECTS AS WELL HIS OWN DEEP AND LONG-STANDING SKEPTICISM ABOUT MOSCOW'S PURPOSES AND HIS ATTACHMENT TO THE WEST. HIS MOTIVES AS HE SEEKS MORE NORMAL RELATIONS WITH GREECE'S NORTHERN NEIGHBORS, AND HIS CONVOCAION OF A BALKAN CONFERENCE, ARE VARIOUS, INCLUDING UNDERCUTTING HIS LOCAL CRITICS, CONTRIBUTING IN A MODEST WAY TO DETENTE, AND STEERING THE MARCH ON TURKEY. HE HAS ALWAYS BEEN TOO REALISTIC AND TOO EXPERIENCED EITHER TO EXPECT GREATER RETURNS FROM HIS OVERTURES TO THE NORTH OR TO INVEST VERY HEAVILY EVEN TO OBTAIN THE MODEST OBJECTIVES WHICH HE PURSUES. THUS, HIS BALKAN INITIATIVE DOES NOT INDICATE ANY BASIC FOREIGN POLICY REORIENTATION.

17. CARAMANLIS HAS KEPT GREECE ON COURSE TOWARDS HIS GOAL OF A STRENGTHENED RELATIONSHIP WITH THE UNITED STATES. TO AMERICANS PROGRESS IN THIS DIRECTION HAS OFTEN SEEMED GLACIAL. TO THOSE GREEKS WHO OPPOSE TIES WITH US, THE SPEED HAS SEEMED DIZZYING. BUT QUESTIONS OF PACE ASIDE, WE HAVE FOUND THAT IN THE NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE GOVERNMENT ON OUR BASES HERE, THE GREEK SIDE AND THE AMERICAN SIDE SHARED CERTAIN BASIC ASSUMPTIONS ABOUT OUR MUTUAL SECURITY INTERESTS. AND THERE HAS BEEN LITTLE SERIOUS ATTEMPT BY

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THE GREEK SIDE IN THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS TO EXTORT CONCESSIONS FROM US. THE GREEK GOVERNMENT SEEMS DETERMINED TO CONTINUE A CLOSE RELATIONSHIP WITH THE UNITED STATES THAT IS NO LESS EFFECTIVE IN FACT, IF SOMEWHAT ALTERED IN FORM, THAN IN THE PAST.

18. THE PROBLEM FOR CARAMANLIS IS TO BRING HIS PUBLIC ALONG WITH THAT POLICY. THE PROBLEM FOR THE UNITED STATES IS TO CONFIRM ITS CORRECTNESS. THE TASK FOR US BOTH IS MADE FAR MORE DIFFICULT BY THE HEAVY AND SOMETIMES POISONOUS AIR OF ANTI-AMERICANISM IN WHICH WE OPERATE HERE. THE CAUSES OF THIS ANTI-AMERICANISM PALL ARE MANY;

--A SENSATIONALIST AND IRRESPONSIBLE PRESS, WHICH STOKES ANTI AMERICAN FIRES WHENEVER IT CAN. THE ANTI AMERICAN LEFT HERE HAS MADE MAJOR PENETRATIONS IN THE MEDIA. IN FACT, THE LEFT'S

INFLUENCE IN THE MEDIA CONSTITUTES ITS GREATEST AND PERHAPS ONLY  
SIGNIFICANT ACHIEVEMENT SINCE THE RESTORATION OF DEMOCRACY.

--THEIR HISTORY HAS CONSPIRED TO CONVINCE GREEKS THAT  
THEY ARE NEVER RESPONSIBLE FOR THEIR OWN ACTS. IF THE JUNTA WAS  
EVIL AND CYPRUS WAS A TRAGEDY, A "FOREIGN FACTOR" HAS TO BE  
RESPONSIBLE. AS THE DOMINANT "FOREIGN FACTOR" FOR OVER TWENTY  
FIVE YEARS THE UNITED STATES IS THE NATURAL--  
IF ERRONEOUS--TARGET FOR RESENTMENT.  
--OUR OWN DISENCHANTMENT WITH OUR SOCIETY.  
GREEK INTELLECTUALS, LIKE THEIR PEERS ELSEWHERE,  
ABSORB AMERICAN IDEAS. UNTIL OUR SELF-IMAGE IMPROVES, WE  
CANNOT EXPECT GREEK PERCEPTIONS OF US, OUR SOCIETY AND OUR  
PURPOSES TO IMPROVE MUCH.

19. BOTH ARAMANLIS AND THE US FACE TOUGH SLEDDING AS HE SEEKS  
TO PERSUADE HIS PEOPLE TO ACCEPT, AND WE SEEK TO STRENGTHEN,  
A STRONG RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE US AND GREECE. HIS GAME HAS  
BEEN TO PLAY FOR TIME AND THERE HAS BEEN IMPROVEMENT OVER THE  
YEAR. OUR EFFORT HAS BEEN TO MAKE OUR SUPPORT CONCRETE:  
THROUGH INITIATIVES TO MOVE CYPRUS ALONG; THROUGH THE PRESIDENT'S PRO-  
POSED AID PACKAGE AND THROUGH THE ACCELERATED DELIVERY OF US  
ARMS TO GREECE. CONGRESSIONAL PASSAGE OF THE AID PROPOSAL WILL  
DIMINISH SKEPTICISM HERE (AND FAILURE TO PASS IT SUBSTANTIALLY  
AS PROPOSED WILL FUEL IT). BUT, CYPRUS REMAINS AN OPEN  
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SORE, AND THE AEGEAN A POTENTIAL DISASTER. IF THE FORMER  
CAN BE HEALED AND THE LATTER RESOLVED WITHOUT OFFENSE  
TO GREEK DIGNITY AND HONOR, WE WILL PROBABLY WEATHER THE  
STORMY SEA OF ANTI-AMERICANISM WHICH WE--AND CARAMANLIS--  
ARE FORCED TO RIDE.  
KUBISCH

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